Community Organization of the Village Settlement and Service Area of Religious Centres: Si-Miao, in Konghinglie (Singdyam City, Taiwan)

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Abstract

The objective of this paper is to consider the space formation of the village settlement of Konghinglie (Singdyam city), which is a typical traditional village in Taipei basin. The study is based on the analysis of the interrelations between the religious service area of *si-miao* (Buddhist and Confucian temples) and village organization. The target village of the study was the frontier settlement in the period of migration from Mainland China that still preserves a traditional way of life. Several building types can be observed in the space formation of village of Hang tribe in Taipei basin. The paper firstly clarifies the distribution of building types in the village and analyzes the community organization with respect to the religious service areas of *si-miao*. It was found that there are two types of *si-miao*—the indigenous type and the foreign origin type. The service area of indigenous type is formed on the traditional community organization but the foreign origin type has no such organization in the village. Finally this paper points out the process of the destruction of traditional community organization, which is a key to understand the urbanization process of Taiwan.

Keywords: temple (*si-miao*); shrine (*shentang*); building types; space formation; religious service area; community organization

1. Introduction

1.1 Objective of the Research

The objective of this paper is to study the settlement organization of Konghinglie of Singdam city¹ of Taiwan. It will analyse the spatial structure of the settlement through the study of community structure, distribution of religious institutions and their mutual relationship expressed through the service areas in the settlement. Konghinglie is located at the south of Taipei Valley and has a population of 1526 (1995). The town is considered to be one of the remote areas in the Valley and during the colonial period, Han people, with the indigenous community,² were constantly involved in the battle against the colonialists while at the same time it was at the front line in the building of frontier immigrant settlements. In 1970, in the upper reaches of Beicui River, a reservoir and dam was constructed and the region of Konghinglie was designated as a special zone of water source for Taipei city, and restricted further development of the city. Because of this control in Konghinglie, it is still possible to see the original form of a settlement type nestled at the base of a mountain that are frequently to be seen in Taiwan. The close relationship among the local people that at the same time shows inhibition to the outsiders is one of the special characteristics of the town said to have been a tradition handed down from the Frontier period. Konghinglie is of special importance to understand the pattern of settlement organization of the Frontier period and its

subsequent developments in the later years.

One of the important factor that has to be given due consideration in the study of settlements of Taiwan are *si-miao*—the Taoist temples and Buddhist monasteries. During the Frontier development period, *si-miao* was not only the centre limited to religious service, but of more importance, it also played a role as a nucleus in building the new community. The close relationship of *si-miao* in the structure of neighbourhood community in urban quarters has been shown by various research works.³ Such a relationship, as will be seen from this study, is even more pronounced in mountain base settlements such as is found in Konghinglie. The paper will show that the community units basically coincide with the circuit of the ritual service of *si-miao*. While there has been far going changes between the relationship of *si-miao* and urban communities, the continuity in the traditional relationship of *si-miao* and communities of Konghinglie are still in existence, thus providing an opportunity to study the original forms of *si-miao*, their relationship with the settlement and the direction of change in the process of ongoing development of settlements in Taiwan.

1.2 Existing Research Works

Singdyam City Journal⁴ provides a simple account on the development history of Singdyam city including Konghinglie. There is another report on the settlement—'A General Plan on the Land Use of Special Water Resource Zone',⁵ following the designation of Konghinglie as the 'Special Water Resource Zone'. It discusses the particular geographical features of the area and control measures on its future developments. Zhuang Cao Quan (1994) studies the characteristics of communities of Singdyam city that includes Konghinglie. There is also a document—'Wenshan

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(Received November 8, 2002 ; accepted February 28, 2003)

Jun Index'⁶ related to Konghinglie that records statistical data on the population, agricultural production and other aspects.

Wu Xue Min has made a study on the system of opening the frontier settlement in North Taiwan that includes Konghinglie (Wu, 1984). Further, Ge Ou Qing makes a case study of Tai Shan Xian and describes the historical changes of the hill side country settlements of Taipei (Qing, 1994). Research works on temples and Buddhist monasteries are to be found from the period of Japanese colonial period. The works of Chiziyiba Jutarō (1935) and Masuda Fukutaro (1939) make studies on the characteristics of *si-miao* and their role in the society. Following these works there are a series of studies on *si-miao* by Li Qian Lang (1984, 1992, 1993, 1994). The study of Jian Quan Zhi (Jin, 1985) focuses upon the changes in the form of *si-miao* along with the urbanisation process. Ishida centres on the functions and management of *si-miao* in his work 'A Study of socio-economic structure of Han people in rural Taiwan'. Lin Shu Lin (1989) points out weak management of *si-miao* compared to their significance in the society of Taiwan. Again there is the work—'A Study on the Development of *si-miao* in Taiwan' that gives a concise introduction on the social functions of *si-miao*, their various forms and development changes in the history of Taiwan (Zhuang, 1987).

On the study of the spatial structures related to *si-miao* and their ritual territory, one could cite Lin Hui Cheng (1974), Lin Mei Rong (1986) and Pan Cao Yang (1994). In addition, Lin's work—'The Altar of Land as the index of a settlement' (1987) discusses the pivotal role of the Altar in the spatial order of the settlement.

The works mentioned above all focus on the traditional religious institution of *si-miao*, and study its structure, social functions and ritual territories including their historic development in the context of Taiwan. This paper will draw from these earlier works and make analysis on the social functions of *si-miao* and its ritual territories in the case of Konghinglie.

The dwelling types of rural areas, in general, belong to the *san-he-yuan* type, which is the courtyard house with dwelling wings at three sides. In this paper, the usual dwelling types of the urban areas that also include the market

towns are employed to identify the house types of Konghinglie, their distribution pattern and correspondence with the various ritual territories.

1.3 The Survey Work

A base map was drawn utilizing the aerial map (1994) of the region, which was then further checked through field survey. During the field survey, new roads and building types including the dwelling types of the settlement were identified in the map. Further 11 dwellings were measured from the town settlement area of Konghinglie. Interviews on the management, ritual territories of *si-miao* and settlement structure were taken with the responsible persons of the *si-miao* and inhabitants of the localities. The field survey was conducted in between the period from Dec. 2 to Dec. 20 of 1996.

2. General Introduction of Konghinglie

Konghinglie is located at the southwest of Singdyam city (Fig. 2, Fig. 3). It borders with Sanxia zhen at the west, and U Lai county at the south. It lies parallel to Pao Chi Li at the north with Singdyam Fu in between them. It is connected with Xin Niao Highway through Xiagui Bridge and with Tu Piao Li by Xiao Kang Road that passes through the hill terrain.

Konghinglie can be divided into two areas—one that lies at the lower plain and the other that spreads at the hill terrain (Fig. 4, Fig. 5). In the plain area, there is a small elevated spur where it is said that the migrants, at the initial stage, settled to protect themselves from the attacks of the indigenous people. The original settlement of the indigenous people was in U Lai county at the south. In this area, there is the largest water fall of Taiwan and is a place where from early modern period thematic features such as 'Tai Ya cultural village' and 'Yun Shan Entertainment Park' were developed forming a successful resort area. On the other hand Konghinglie whose main activity was agricultural suffered from the lack of farm hand following the drainage of manpower to the city. The rigid development control following its designation as the Special Water Resource Zone⁸ has further strained its development, which is apparent from the earlier rice field, tea and plum gardens left fallow. Some of the recent changes have begun to

Fig. 1. Konghinglie in 1920's (source: Taiwan Baotuji, Showa 5thyear)

Fig. 2. Location of Survey Area

Fig. 3. Konghinglie (1990, adapted from Sindyanshi ditu, Sindyan City Office)

#1: Area of Fig. 4.
#2: Area of Fig. 5.

Fig. 4. Distribution of Building Types in Lower Plain

Fig. 5. Distribution of Building Types in Hill Terrain

Fig. 6. Distribution of Building Types in Hill-fort

mitigate the economic slump brought by new orientations in the productions, such as cultivation of bonsai, creating chicken farms managed in conjunction with restaurants and opening of fishing areas.

The earliest temple is the village temple called Chang Fu Si. It was built by the first Han settlers in Konghinglie. According to an inscription the construction of the temple was done at 1863. The earliest document related to Konghinglie is the report of William Hancock of the Costume Department on interior areas of Singdyam region dated 1881 (Yi, 1994). On Konghinglie, it notes: “there is a settlement that looks oddly at the hill top on the bank of the river. The houses are closely huddled as a fortification; and some years ago, the hamlet was attacked by a group of fifty to sixty Pan people. But the inhabitants chased them away and are protecting themselves without much difficulty.”

The constant fear from the possible attack by the Pan people is also to be verified from the records of the inscription. Even now the inhabitants call the hill by the name ‘Syaten’, which implies a meaning of fortified place, while the lower plain is called ‘Kajyupo’ which means a battlefield. The battle with the indigenous people continued until the early colonial period.

The earliest geographical map noting Konghinglie is the ‘Maps of Taiwan Island’ made in 15th year of Taisho (1926). It marks roads and fields but not the buildings. But later maps of 1930 identify clearly the individual houses. The study of these maps as well as those made later in 1968 (The Topographical Map of Singdyam basin) and 1990 (The City Map of Singdyam) in conjunction with the field work of 1996 provide a picture of the changes in Konghinglie, which can be broadly outlined as follows.

In the first phase the settlement is limited within the hill spur (Fig. 6—lin units: 3, 4 and 5). Following the success of Liban policy⁹ by the middle of the colonial period, the danger from the indigenous people subsided, and the inhabitants began to settle in the lower plain (Fig. 4—lin units: 2, 6, 7). In the third phase, the settlement further expands along the basins of the river tributaries (Fig. 5—lin units: 13-17). The dwellings then begin to develop along Cheng Gong Road (Fig. 11—lin units: 11, 12) and Xiao Kang Road (unit 8-10). The latest expansion is marked by the development of resort vacation houses along the entry

approach of Konghinglie (Fig. 4—lin: 1).

3. The Structure of the Settlement

3.1 Distribution of the Building Types

The building types that constitute the settlement of Konghinglie can be identified as follows:

a) barrack shed type; b) traditional dwelling form; c) shophouse; d) reformed traditional dwelling; e) vacation house; f) public building; g) religious building.

a) This type is usually built of timber and iron sheets, and is generally limited to single storey structure. b) The next is built with fired bricks with roofing tiles. Although *san-he-yuan* is considered the common dwelling type in rural Taiwan, but according to the economic level of the individual family or due to topographical constraints, the dwellings of single wing (the dragon shape)¹⁰ or of L shape are most common. c) The third type are those that are common in the city, which with the division of the plots the frontages of the houses along the roads become narrow while the depth is long. The arrangement of the room follows what is known as ‘*Ming ting an pang*’ (Lun, 1989) where dining and water closets are at the rare end, in between, bedrooms are placed in a row. d) These are the dwellings, which are used by the city dwellers as vacation houses recognised as the high-class residential dwellings by the local inhabitants. These houses are semi-detached battery type with garden courts and were built during the high economic growth period of 1970’s. e) This is the traditional farmhouse type of enclosed courtyard. In 1960’s these houses were usually of two storey

Table 1. Distribution of Building Types by lin Units.

dwelling type lin units	barrack	traditional	shophouse	vacation house	reformed traditional	public building	religious	others	total
1	0	0	0	69	0	0	2	3	74
2	4	0	5	20	2	1	1	0	32
3	17	0	0	0	3	0	1	1	21
4	1	0	0	0	17	0	2	0	19
5	4	3	0	0	19	0	2	0	26
6	13	10	0	0	17	0	2	0	41
7	3	4	0	12	12	0	2	0	33
8	0	3	0	1	2	0	2	0	8
9	7	20	0	0	14	0	1	0	42
10	0	9	0	0	2	0	1	0	12
11	2	7	0	0	1	0	1	0	11
12	6	2	0	1	10	1	4	0	23
13	15	6	0	8	23	0	2	1	55
14	4	11	0	0	11	0	0	5	26
15	0	3	0	0	21	0	1	0	30
16	4	10	0	0	5	1	0	0	19
17	35	15	0	7	16	3	2	0	76
total	115	103	5	138	175		26	9	572

while at present most of them are built up to 3 storey height. f) These are public buildings such as the schools. g) Temples and Monasteries belong to this type of buildings.

The dwelling lots in Konghinglie, besides those of early fort area in the elevated hill, the lower plain and the vacation villas along the Guishan Bridge (lin: 1) that developed prior to the control measures of 1970's, are distributed in the surrounding hill tracts. The network formed by the three roads Ping Guang Lu, Cheng Gong Lu, Xiao Kang Lu built by cutting the hilly terrain and other minor roads connecting them link the whole settlement area of Konghinglie. The dwellings are built along and at the end nodes of these roads. The traditional farmhouses and the flimsy structures are gradually changed to more firm structures and to villas. This reconstruction and adaptation is concentrated in the elevated spur (lin: 4,5 and 6), the lower plain (lin: 2, 3) and along Ping Guang Road (lin: 13-17), where the number of such dwellings are 146 among 175 units of farmhouse type, and 136 among 138 of villa type houses (Table 1). This reform of the houses shows that the economic strength of the region is concentrated in the lower plain and Ping Guang Road area. The economy of the region will also be apparent from the scales of *si-miao*.

3.2 Spatial Structure of the Fort settlement

The fort settlement is located at the north of the lower plain (Fig. 6). The land of the plateau descends steeply towards north, which borders the reservoir. This is the area where the boats coming from outer regions landed during the precolonial period. There is Chang Fu Yan temple at the top of the hill with open squares at the front and back of it. The dwellings of the inhabitants were built surrounding this temple. The dwellings at the lower level were built either facing their entrance outward or towards the internal streets of the settlement. A Buddhist altar is built at the main entry of all these houses.¹¹ Singdyam City Journal writes that there was wall built around the settlement and is also noted in the inscription of Chang Fu Yan temple, but there are no drawing or maps that delineate the wall of that time.

3.3 Spatial Structure of the Settlements in Plain and the Hill Terrain.

Unlike the compact settlement at the hill fort, the dwellings in the lower plains and at the foot of hills along the tributary streams are scattered. The dwellings spread widely in the area forming one to three units in a group. It is only the area of vacation villas where there is a relatively compact form of building clusters. The dwellings at the foot of hill slopes follow the highway and other minor roads that are built along the riverine valleys. Among them, the settlement along Ping Guang Road was formed before the construction of irrigation canal for rice cultivation. The reason is that it was the only one where a water supply line ran among the three main highways of Konghinglie, the effects of which is the development along Ping Guang Road continuing up to present day.

4. Structure of Ritual Territories

4.1 The Religious Centres

The religious structures of Konghinglie belong to the popular faith of Buddhist monasteries. According to the

classification of the government, there are three kinds of religious structures--Taoist temples (*miao*), Ancestral temples (*shentang*) and Buddhist monasteries (*si*). This standard of classification relies only on whether the institutions are registered in the government body or not, while the condition to formal registration depends upon the clear legal status of their real estate properties. Those registered are classified as *si-miao* while those not registered belong to *shentang*. There is no standard of classification according to their different socio-religious functions or building typology. Thus the administration has no reliable data on other religious institutions of Taiwan except Taipei.¹² In this section, we will note the *si-miao*, monastery and altar separately as type A, B and C.

As is generally known, '*si*' indicates Buddhist monastery, while '*miao*' is for Taoist religious centres. However, one of the special features of popular faith in Taiwan is that Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism are intermingled in the customs of the people. Although the deities that are venerated in monasteries and other temples have a delicate difference, their symbolic functions, however, don't have significant difference. The two institutions are known by the single term *si-miao* thus binding the two together in the popular religious faith.

The monasteries or the temples that are the centres of religious learning and practice are rare in Taiwan when compared to the temples catering to the popular religious practice. However, following the migration from the mainland that took place after the Second World War, different religious sects have entered Taiwan. This development is what is known in Taiwan as 'Renaissance of Religion'.¹³ Following the decade of 1970's, such institutions are continuing to spread at the mountain and hills away from the city areas. In this paper, for the sake of differentiation, such institutions will be separately called Buddhist monasteries and Taoist temples while those of traditional belief will be referred as '*si-miao*'. While the type that is not an independent structure but is built attached to other structures or is part of it, will be called as altar (*shentang*). *Shentang* is generally the characteristics of the city dwellers but such features are also becoming apparent in settlements like Konghinglie which are moving in the process of urbanization (Fig. 6—G, I, J, K). The fort settlement at the hilltop is most dense in Konghinglie and there are *shentangs* taking some space of the individual dwelling units. The increasing numbers of *shentang* in the city residential settlements may be seen as the prototypes for these new developments in the fort settlement of Konghinglie.

4.2 Indigenous Type and the Foreign Origin Type

The concept of ritual territory of a *si-miao* in this paper is considered with respect to that area where the residents share certain economic as well as maintenance responsibility to the *si-miao*. Those localities of the irregular visitors to the temple who make certain voluntary economic contribution are not included within the territory of the related *si-miao*. The traditional *si-miao* was constructed by the common effort of the inhabitants and was like a nucleus in building a closely-knit community in the locality. However, most of the *si-miao* and *shentang* constructed in recent times are

Fig. 8. Song Taizu Miao P.

Fig. 7. Changfu Yan A.

Fig. 9. Shanxuan Gong F.

Fig. 10. Fudian Gongmiao B

built by individuals and is not necessarily an important structure to the general community. Such shrines also don't have defined ritual territories. For the purpose of convenience, we refer the *si-miao* built by the community as the indigenous while those by others as the foreign type.

In general, the foreign type of *si-miao* are those which were originally founded in the city areas, which when gathering a certain degree of following was later moved to Konghinglie as has been the trend due to the availability of cheap land and natural bounty.

The maintenance cost of the foreign type shrines run by the shamans is comparatively high and the income of the shrine varies according to his charismatic influence. The following of the shaman among the local inhabitants is small and therefore depends upon the followers outside Konghinglie. The expansion as well as the reform of such shrines is faster than that of the indigenous shrines. Many of such shrines have been built into glamorous structures within few years, which were simple and minor buildings at the time of their initial foundation in Konghinglie (Fig. 12: C, E, F, R, U).¹⁴ It can be seen that while the indigenous shrines depend upon the economic level of their territory, the shrine of shaman derives its strength from the number of his believers outside Konghinglie.

The location of indigenous and the foreign type shrines are also distinct. The indigenous type is usually found at the central area of the territory surrounded by the dwellings of its member community. The Village Temple—Chang Fu Yan (A) and Duan Xing Gong (T) are typical examples. The shrines, which are located farther away from their ritual territory, have their own particular reasons. For instance,

the shrines B and Z were built in the place where human bones were discovered at the time of construction of roads.¹⁵ H and W are built at the top of the steep slope beside Cheng Gong Road and Xiao Kang Road. These shrines are specially visited for the safe return back when going deep into the mountains. In recent times the places are favoured spots to relax for the travellers. The foreign type shrines are located either at the quiet remote place (U, E, F) or are at the densely settled fort area (G, I, J, K). In addition these shrines are also located at beautiful natural setting or in spots that is bestowed with special meaning. For instance, C, V, X are located commanding the Singdyam lake view while R is besides a huge tree.¹⁶

The shrine F may be taken as the typical of the foreign type (Fig. 9, 12). Originally F was founded in Banqiao city of Taipei district. It was located in the ground floor of a five-storey apartment building there before it was moved in Konghinglie in 1978. The present location of the shrine is well situated at a place overlooking Taipei city. Except few believers in the locality, the shrine has most of its followings from Taipei city and the district area.

4.3 The Ritual Territory of Chang Fu Yan

The village temple—Chang Fu Yan has a priest to administer its periodic rituals. The temple was built by five households of 20 members in 1863 when they first settled in Konghinglie. According to the inscription in the temple, the image of the temple deity replicates that of Guang Fu Yan temple of Pao Chi Li in the other coast across the sea, and is the branch of the main ancestral temple of Sanxia city.¹⁷ It is told that the migrants were from Anxi county of Fujian province who moved to Sanxia and then later arrived here. It is also known that the image of the deity of Sanxia temple is again the replica of a shrine in Anxi county and the temple itself was built by the migrants coming from Anxi. Thus the temple foundations of Konghinglie are branches of the shrines of their native places and thus were built by the peoples who came from the same localities of the mainland. The past allegiance of the migrants to such a temple made it the centre, and the symbol of solidarity of each community. A ritual visit of the image of the deity of Chang Fu Yan is conducted once in a year in Sanxia city to offer incense to the mother temple. Likewise, the deity of Guang Fu Yan visits its mother temple of Qing Shui Yan in Anxi county. The branch temples and the annual round of ritual offerings to the mother temple has connected all the people in Taiwan who came from Anxi county into one large community network.

The temple building of Chang Fu Yan was initially constructed in timber and thatch. In 1905, its walls were rebuilt with stone and roofed with red tiles. The walls were later changed again with brick masonry in 1953. The present structure is from 1971 and is of reinforced concrete construction with yellow roofing tiles. This change in the structure of the temple coincides with those of the dwellings of the inhabitants.

The temple is located almost at the centre of the Fort settlement area. The open square at the front of the temple is one of the activity spaces of the inhabitants. The square at the back now partly serves as a park and partly as a parking

Fig. 11. Distribution of Lin of Konghinglie

Fig. 13. The participating Groups during the Festival of Village Temple (Changfu Yan)

Fig. 14. The Relationships of Ritual Territory and the *lin* Units

Fig. 12. Distribution of Religious Facilities

space. At the front of the temple facing the frontal square a stage is built where in the annual festival, traditional Taiwan opera and musket plays are performed. The setting is the most important entertainment centre for the community.

The ritual territory of Chang Fu Yan connects all the units of Konghinglie except the unit of Vacation villas that developed in recent decades. The 6th day of the first month of the traditional New Year is marked as the birthday of Qingshui Zu Shi—the ancestral deity, and is celebrated by the inhabitants with great pomp. The management of the festival is done by the community divided into five groups (with one to five subdivisions, Fig. 13). The responsibility of the management passes to one of the groups annually. The subdivision of the group is related to the administrative unit called '*Lin*'. These units were defined in pre-war times, which later in the post-war period were designated as '*lin*'. With the increase in population, '*lin*' was divided in smaller units that are found in the existing socio-spatial structure.

Chang Fu Yan, besides being a village temple, is also the local temple of the two settlements, which are at the hill fort and at the lower plain. In addition to the festival celebrating the birth anniversary that links all the *lin* territories, there are festivals participated by the inhabitants of the two settlements. In these rituals, the collection of fund is limited within two to seven '*lin*' units with each having one to three subunits.

4.4 Hierarchy of the Ritual Territories

The residents of Konghinglie, excluding those of the villa area, all descend from the early migrants who first settled at the hilltop. The residents who moved to the new area farther away built their own *si-miao* (the indigenous type), but all the deities of these temples are transpositions of the deity enshrined in Chang Fu Yan. Thus the *si-miao* network mentioned above further ramifies in Konghinglie.

There are eleven indigenous type *si-miao* whose individual ritual territories in the settlement can be identified. There are also instances where more than one ritual territories overlap with each other (Fig. 14). Some of them are due to close blood relationship (S) or occupational solidarity (P), but most of the overlapping shows links with the daily social activity sphere of the residents and topographical boundaries.

Shrines B and H belong to all units living along Cheng Gong Lu. Therefore their territories coincide with each other. While W and Y have their separate territories along Xiao Kang Road and Xiao Kang Er Road respectively. The territory of S falls within the territory of T that covers the whole area of Ping Guang Road. In similar manner, the territory of O falls partly within A and partly within Q, and that of P lies partly within Q and partly within O. Naturally, all these individual territories are included within the territory of the village temple—Chang Fu Yan 'A'. Thus some residents belong to more than one temple territories. For instance, the residents whose main shrine is Song Tai Zu (P) at the same time belong to the territories of A, O and Q.

The social relationship in the overlapping of the ritual territories may be illustrated through the example of the shrine P (Fig. 8). The inhabitants of P originally lived in the hill fort area and belonged to the village temple A. When they moved to the present location, the residents of these communities began to participate in the rituals of neighbouring shrines of Q and O. B and H are common to all the inhabitants residing along Cheng Gong Road. Between these two temples, H was built by a group of people who came to Konghinglie to work in the forestry before the construction of the road. Although H is not situated at the centre of the present cluster of the settlement, it served as the nucleus of the inhabitants who moved to the area following the construction of an irrigation canal in 1960. On the other hand, shrine B (Fig. 10) was funded and built by the resident communities upon the place where human bones were discovered during the excavation works at the

	Religious foundation	Type	Founded year	Building type	Ownership	Registration	indigenous/foreign origin	Location
A	Changfuyan	●	1863		Community	Y	indigenous	fort
B	Fuxing gongmiao	●	1981	traditional	Community	N	indigenous	Chenggonglu height
C	Yuanjuesi	▲	1983	traditional	individual	N	foreign	viewing spot
D	Shengrong gong	●	1991		individual	N	foreign	viewing spot
E	Xinghe gong	●	1975		individual	N	foreign	quiet spot at the end of chenggonglu
F	Yuxuan gong	●	1978	traditional	individual	N	foreign	quiet spot at the end of chenggonglu
G	Leide gong	■	1996	traditional	individual	N	foreign	fort
H	Pingguang gong	●	1937	renovated dwelling	Community	N	indigenous	Chenggonglu height with fountain sight
I	Jiyi gong	■	1984	traditional	individual	N	foreign	fort
J	Nanxuan gong	■	1982	renovated dwelling	individual	N	foreign	fort
K	Pingguang gong	■	1977	dwelling	individual	N	foreign	fort
L	Daguang si	▲	1974	renovated vacation house	individual	N	foreign	plain
M	Sanqing gong	●	1978	renovated vacation house	individual	N	foreign	entrance to the plain
N	Shengzhou gong	●	1981	traditional dwelling	individual	N	foreign	entrance to pingguanglu and xiaokanglu
O	Shouxuan gong	●	1933	traditional	Community	N	indigenous	upper pingguanglu
P	Song taizu miao	●	1934	traditional	Community	N	indigenous	upper pingguanglu
Q	Pingguang fude	●	1945	traditional	Community	N	indigenous	upper pingguanglu
R	Shugong miao	●	1989	traditional	individual	N	foreign	besides a large tree
S	Jiqing gong	●	1939	traditional	Community	N	indigenous	
T	Ruidian gong	●	1921	traditional	Community	N	indigenous	crossroad
U	Wudou xing jun	●	1985	traditional	individual	N	foreign	quiet spot at the end of chenggonglu
V	Yinyue changsi	▲	1975	renovated vacation house	individual	N	foreign	viewing spot of xindyam rivulet
W	changfu gong	●	1956	traditional	Community	N	indigenous	xinkanglu height
X	Linxi gong	●	1982		individual	N	foreign	viewing spot of xindyam rivulet
Y	Fuyan gong	●	1931	traditional	Community	N	indigenous	viewing spot of xindyam rivulet
Z	Xianying gongmiao	●	1896	traditional	Community	N	indigenous	entrance to the fort

Table 2. Distribution of Religious Facilities (Refer Fig. 12).

time of the expansion of Cheng Gong Road in 1980. Therefore, the running costs of both shrines are shouldered by all the residents settling in the area of Cheng Gong Road.

The above instances show formation of communities defined by the ritual territories of the temples.

4.5 Relationship between Ritual Territory and *Lin*

The study shows that there exists a correspondence between the ritual territories of *si-miao* and the territories of *lin* units (Fig.11). A complete overlapping of such territories is found between the shrines W, S, Z and O separately with *lins*--8, 15, 5 and 7 respectively. The shrines which include several *lin* units are A (2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7), Y (9, 10), T (14,15, 16, 17), B and H (11, 12) and Q (13 and part of 7). The case of B and H that coincide completely, and the inclusion of part of 7 into Q due to the occupational solidarity are of special nature. Otherwise, in general, it is seen that the ritual territory is formed upon the residential proximity of a geographic area. The subunits of *lin* also display similar territorial relationship as is found through the study of the territorial divisions of various units managing the rituals of the village temple. The structures of external type shrines are different from the indigenous type in this matter of *lin* units and the temple territories. The inhabitants have no obligation to make donations to these temples and the concept of ritual territories of the indigenous shrines don't apply to them.

5. Conclusion

The temple territories are important elements in understanding the structure of community units. The clarity in the boundaries of ritual territories simultaneously indicates the clarity in the form of the settlement units and a strong solidarity among the members of the resident community. This study of Konghinglie suggests that the ritual territories of traditional settlements were distinctly identifiable. Konghinglie developed as a close community settlement and may be compared to other areas of Taiwan. However it is gradually in the process of urbanisation following the development of service industries. The main

features found in the present study through the survey of Konghinglie may be summarised as follows:

1. Shrines of Konghinglie can be differentiated into two types—the indigenous type and the foreign type. The indigenous type plays significant role in the settlement as the nucleus of the community. The introduction of the foreign type and the new residents from other areas is gradually changing the earlier structural clarity of

indigenous temple territories. While on one hand the earlier form is getting complex, on the other hand it is also in the process of breaking down the earlier network of the community structure. The change found in Konghinglie may provide a key to understand the process of breakdown of ritual territories in the cities.

2. The location of the foreign type and the indigenous type is also a feature to understand the relationship between the two. While there is no need of physical protection to the temple as it was in the early period of settlement, the feeling to be careful from the outsiders remains strong. Probably it is for this attitude of the locals that most of the shrines are situated at the central place of the settlement area. The location of foreign types are more determined by the consideration in the economy of land value and fine natural settings, though there are four such shrines on the hill fort where there is high settlement density. Yet their influence over the local residents is not strong and the believers are from outside areas.

3. The indigenous shrines are, in general, the branch foundation of the original village shrine. The relationship that exists between the hill fort and the settlement at the lower plain may explain the basic pattern on the formation of traditional village structures of Taiwan. In other words, the ritual territory of indigenous shrines show the development expansion of the village settlements. Thereafter, the organization of subunits that support the ritual ceremonies of the shrine and the later administrative units of *lin* are formed following the territorial organization with the shrine at the centre as is evident from the coincidence of *lin* and temple territories. The previous works studied the village settlement as one single unit with the inhabitants belonging to one ritual territory. This paper for the first time identifies the structure of the ritual territories below that of village shrine and analyses their hierarchy and network.

4. The attempt to include the new comers into the existing ritual territories has so far been unsuccessful. This partly indicates the weakening of the community structure. For instance 69 units of dwellings of *lin* 1 and 20 dwellings of

lin 2 were built by certain construction company to the customers from outside areas. All the owners of these villas except one don't make contribution to the common fund of the village temple and thus do not belong to its ritual territory. During the festival, their participation is passive. The danger is that with the increase of non-participants in the village festival activities, the resultant effect will be the breakdown of this tradition at some point in future.

The present paper analysed the relationship of the community structure and the ritual territory of a community settled in the mountain valleys. In the next paper we intend to make a comparative analysis of such relationship between *si-miao* and the community in the context of city residential areas.

Acknowledgments

The authors gratefully acknowledge Dr. Mohan Pant for the English rendering of this article from Japanese.

Notes

- ¹ According to the administrative system of Taiwan a city is divided into a number of *li* or districts. The *li* is further divided into *lin* units, while there are village (*cun*) units within the districts. Singdyam city has six *li* that includes Konghinglie, two districts and 12 villages.
- ² There are nine ethnic nationalities in Taiwan. The indigenous people who lived in Singdyam city are Ulaipan of Taiya.
- ³ Xi Quan Wen analysed the locational aspects of the existing traditional *si-miaos* and established the patterns of their location. Hwang Yong Chu, following Xi Quan Wen's work, makes a study of this aspect of *si-miao* as it existed at the end of Qing dynasty in Sanshijie of Taiwan city.
- ⁴ According to the editor of the Journal of Singdyam city (Singdyam shi zhi), Prof. Yi Zhan Yi, the survey work of Konghinglie and Paochilie was halted because of unexpected events that occurred during the later half of the publication work of the journal. This has resulted rather shallow reporting on these two places compared to other areas. The reason given is that the mayor of Singdyam city asked the authors to share part of the project expenditure causing disagreement with some of the members who then discontinued their work in publication.
- ⁵ Ref. 18.
- ⁶ Ref. 20.
- ⁷ See Ref. 2, 16, 17.
- ⁸ According to 'Land Use Control and Management in Taipei county' the construction development in Kwanghinglie, after its designation as a 'Special Zone of Water Resource', sets limitations in total height and number of building storeys. Height limitation is below 10.5m and should not exceed more than three storeys. New constructions are severely limited and there is almost no new constructions saving the public building works.
- ⁹ According to Ametomuchi, the policy of ethnic assimilation began to show its results by the middle of the colonial period. See Ref. 21.
- ¹⁰ The pattern is the basic model of the traditional village farmhouse. The layout has the living room at the centre and rooms at its either side. Kitchen and toilets are at further end of the wing.
- ¹¹ The Buddhist altar in Taiwan is popularly known as *shentang*, but it has no relationship with the *shentang* religious establishments.
- ¹² Taipei city has drawn a list of religious institutions irrespective of their registration status in the related government body. The list shows that it covers all such temples within the Taipei city area but outside the city, it notes only those registered in the Taipei county government. On Konghinglie, the list given in by the county government in 'si-miao of Taipei county, 1993' records only the village temple—Chang Fu Yan. Neither do other publications of the government. The Journal of Singdyam city, in 'A general outline of religious institutions' lists only five temples—Chang Fu Yan, Guang Xing Fu, Ai Xuan Gong, Kai Lei Ci Yin Gong, Da Guang Si. However, the survey shows that by 1993, there were altogether 25 that includes all si-miao and shentang where one more was added in 1996 thus making a total number of the temples to be 26.
- ¹³ The migrants in Taiwan were mainly from Fujian and Guangdong province of the mainland. The migrants brought with them the popular religious belief of their native home place, which made the different

religious traditions of the migrant communities easier to understand. However, the religious sects that came with the post-war migrants to Taiwan became more diverse. Besides Buddhist monasteries and Taoist temples there were the Tibetan esoteric Lamaism and Islam that came together with the people of different parts of the mainland. This has brought new surge in the religious climate of Taiwan and is becoming new force in Taiwanese society.

- ¹⁴ In general *si-miao* and temples develop into more grandeur form from humble structures at their beginning. The type C although has a number of separate structures and has developed into a fine Buddhist monastery now with a number of separate structures, the building types are still of the simple form and therefore is classified into barrack and shed type.
- ¹⁵ The people in Taiwan have a tradition to build *si-miao* on the area where human bones have been found during the digging works of the frontier settlement period.
- ¹⁶ The folk religion is animistic and natural features may be symbolized as deity. There are not few instances where large trees are the objects of votive offering.
- ¹⁷ The branch ancestral temple is founded by a ritual, which transfers part of the spirit of the deity of the mother ancestral shrine. An annual ritual of incense offering to the mother deity, called *jinxiang*, is performed in memory of this foundation.

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